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OSD

**FROM: PARIS**

**TO: Secretary of State**

**NO: POLTO 2476, MARCH 3, 9 PM**

POUCHED ALL NATO CAPITALS POLTO UNNUMBERED.

**RE: POLTOS 2487 AND 2819.**

FOLLOWING ARE USRO PRELIMINARY VIEWS RE SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES  
APRIL NAC MINISTERIAL MEETING.

**A. OBJECTIVES**

1. KEY OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO PORTRAY TO WHOLE WORLD,  
AND PRIMARILY TO COMMUNISTS, CONTINUED UNITY AND FIRMNESS  
IN LIGHT SOVIET INTRANSIGEANCE OVER BERLIN.
2. THIS GOAL, OF COURSE, OVERSHADOWS CELEBRATION TENTH  
ANNIVERSARY. NEVERTHELESS, ANNIVERSARY THEME USEFUL  
BRING TO WIDE ATTENTION OF PUBLIC NATO VALUE FOR PEACE  
AND PROGRESS OF WEST. EXPLOITATION OF THEMES WESTERN  
GAINS IN PEACEFUL COLLABORATION, POLITICAL CONSULTATION,  
ETC. OF VALUE RE SOME SECTORS OPINION AND UNCOMMITTED  
AREAS. POSITIVE AND EASILY IDENTIFIABLE RESULTS SUCH AS  
CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION OF GERMANY IN EUROPE  
CAN BE POINTED OUT.
3. SHOULD PORTRAY FUTURE OF NATO AS PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY  
PROVIDED DEFENSIVE STRENGTH REMAINS HIGH DESPITE BURDEN.
4. WE SHOULD SEEK INSTILL SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN  
FORMULATION OF THESE POSITIONS ON PART OF ALL NATO GOVERNMENTS,  
AS REGARDS PROCESS OF POLITICAL CONSULTATION IN NATO,

**WE**

**PERMANENT**

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**Classification**

NY 90743G

By **SD** Date **3-25-71**

O. S. C. I - WA / J-353

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Copy M. A.  
Revised 12/2/71  
Date 3/25/71  
Name \_\_\_\_\_

NY 90743G

By **SD** Date **3-25-71**

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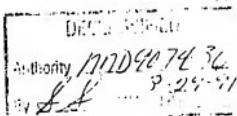
WE SHOULD AIM AT STRENGTHENING CONVICTION THAT NATO IS AND WILL REMAIN PRIMARY ORGANISM FOR POLITICAL CONSULTATION AMONG WESTERN POWERS AND THAT STEADY PROGRESS IN CLOSER CONSULTATION IS BEING MADE THROUGH EXISTING PROCEDURES, ALTHOUGH WE ARE ALWAYS PREPARED TO CONSIDER SUGGESTIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR NEW APPROACHES THAT WILL FACILITATE PROGRESS.

B. SCOPE

1. WHILE PUBLIC STANCE OF MEMBERS WILL SUPPORT FOREGOING OBJECTIVES, TIMETABLE OF PREPARATION RE BERLIN CRISIS MAKES IT INEVITABLE LARGE NUMBER DELICATE AND POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE ASPECTS WILL BE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL AT MINISTER'S MEETING. TIMING FOUR POWER FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING LIMITS PREPARATORY WORK IN PERMANENT COUNCIL BEFORE MINISTERIAL MEETING, THOUGH NAC DISCUSSIONS WITH WORKING GROUP SHOULD HELP LAY BASIS FOR AGREEMENTS. MUST RECOGNIZE RISK OF DIVERGENCIES ON HOW TO PROCEED (AS DISTINGUISHED FROM OBJECTIVES) MAY EMERGE AT MINISTERIAL MEETING, WITH POSSIBILITY RISKS OF LEAKS THAT ALWAYS ATTEND SUCH SESSIONS.
2. FOCUS OF DISCUSSIONS WILL OBVIOUSLY BE CURRENT BERLIN AND GERMAN PROBLEMS IN WHICH EMPHASIS ON NATO SOLIDARITY WILL nevertheless BE COMBINED WITH DEMANDS BY SOME FOR DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY IN WESTERN POSITION AND FOR FULL CONSULTATION WITH ALL NATO GOVERNMENTS IN FORMULATION OF WESTERN POSITION AND STRATEGY. RE BERLIN WE SHOULD ANTICIPATE PRESSURE ON PART NATO GOVERNMENTS NOT DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO BE INFORMED OF FOUR-POWER PLANS TO MAINTAIN ACCESS TO CITY. WHILE NATO GOVERNMENTS GENERALLY WILL REAFFIRM SUPPORT FOR MAINTENANCE OF WESTERN POSITION IN BERLIN, MAJORITY MAY SEEK ASSURANCE

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GENERAL POSITION II

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THAT FORCE WILL NOT BE UTILIZED UNLESS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL FOR PRESERVING ACCESS TO CITY. DEPENDING ON INTERVENING EVENTS AND PUBLIC DISCUSSION, THERE MAY BE REAL PRESSURE FOR POLICY BASED ON ACCEPTANCE, IF NECESSARY, OF SUBSTITUTION OF GDR AUTHORITIES FOR SOVIETS IN ALL FUNCTIONS CURRENTLY PERFORMED BY LATER

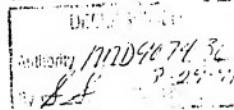
REGARDLESS OF ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR SOVIET RESPONSIBILITIES AND DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF GDR. WHILE IT MAY NOT BE ADVISABLE AT THIS TIME TO DISCLOSE ALL DETAILS OF PRESENT CONTINGENCY PLAN, BELIEVE WE SHOULD TRY TO GIVE ITS BROAD OUTLINES TO PERMANENT COUNCIL PRIOR TO MINISTERIAL MEETING AND TO EXPLAIN CLEARLY CONSIDERATIONS UNDERLYING OUR POLICY IN MATTER WITH VIEW TO AVOIDING UNPREPARED AND CONTENTIOUS DEBATE IN WASHINGTON AND TO GAINING UNANIMOUS NATO SUPPORT FOR STRONG PUBLIC POSITION THAT WILL CARRY CLEAR MESSAGE TO RUSSIANS.

3. SOME MEMBERS MAY BE UNDER DOMESTIC PRESSURE TO PUSH FOR SUMMIT CONFERENCE EVEN IF RUSSIANS REQUIRE IT BE HELD ON BASIS THAT EXCLUDES ISSUE GERMAN REUNIFICATION.

4. WE BELIEVE FOCUS ON PROPOSED FOUR-POWER TALKS WILL PUSH USUAL TOPICS FOR DISCUSSIONS SUCH AS IMPROVED PROCEDURES FOR NATO CONSULTATION INTO BACKGROUND. WF SHOULD BE PREPARED, HOWEVER, TO TAKE DEFINITE POSITION ON SECRETARY GENERAL'S PROPOSAL FOR CREATION OF AD HOC COMMITTEES OF EXPERTS FOR STUDY OF SPECIAL PROBLEMS ALONG LINES PRESENT COMMITTEE ON AFRICA. WE MAY ALSO EXPECT TO BE CONFRONTED WITH DEMANDS, ESPECIALLY BY TURKS, FOR CLOSER COORDINATION OF POLICIES OF NATO GOVERNMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

5. WHILE APRIL MEETING WILL BE CONFINED TO FOREIGN MINISTERS, POSSIBILITY THAT UNITED KINGDOM MAY RAISE QUESTION OF DEFENSE RESOLUTION ON BASIS SPAAK'S INTERIM REPORT. THINK SPAAK PREPARED HANDLE THIS WITHOUT SERIOUS

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DIFFICULTY.

6. ISSUE OF ROLE FRANCE IN NATO MAY ARISE IN VARIOUS WAYS. IF QUESTION FRENCH FLEET NOT RESOLVED SATISFACTORILY, WHOLE QUESTION FORCE COMMITMENTS TO NATO MAY ARISE. INFRASTRUCTURE FUNDING PROBLEMS, AND OTHER ASPECTS FRENCH INTRANSIGEANCE MAY TEMPT SOME MEMBERS TO SPEAK TO THESE ISSUES. QUESTION TRIPARTITE TALKS MAY ALSO COME UP IN RELATION TO DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL CONSULTATION. MAY BE DESIRABLE, THROUGH PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH PERMREPS BEFORE MEETING, TO TRY AVOID THESE ISSUES BEING BROUGHT UP IN INTERESTS OF UNITY AND SOLIDARITY. HOW TO KEEP FRENCH IN LINE AT MEETING IS ALSO FOR CONSIDERATION.
7. PRESSURES IN NETHERLANDS RE ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA MAY REQUIRE THEM MAKE STATEMENT GF GREATER STRENGTH THAN VERY LIGHT TREATMENT THEY GAVE MATTER IN DECEMBER.

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